SEN ... CHECK CLASSIFICATION TOP AND BOTTOM

UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL		SECRET

OFFICIAL ROUTING SLIP

TO	NAME AND ADDRESS	DATE	INITIALS
1	IP/AR		
2	GA 50		
3	Att: C J,		
4			
5			
6			

	ACTION		DIRECT REPLY		PREPARE REPLY
	APPROVAL		DISPATCH		RECOMMENDATION
	COMMENT		FILE		RETURN
	CONCURRENCE		INFORMATION		SIGNATURE

Remarks:

Caroline,

I am returning the Pericles Mission materi[als] which you recently sent me.

This is the attachment to F 76-291 under our response of 17 August 1976 to the request of Costa G. Couvaras.

FOLD HERE TO RETURN TO SENDER

FROM: NAME, ADDRESS AND PHONE NO.	DATE
M. C J, ISS/IMG, 1D 17, 1241	19 Nov 76

	UNCLASSIFIED		CONFIDENTIAL		SECRET

FORM NO. 237 Use previous editions (40)

Job 81-815R
Box 534

DECLASSIFIED AND RELEASED BY
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
SOURCES METHODS EXEMPTION 3B2B
NAZI WAR CRIMES DISCLOSURE ACT
DATE 2007

81-815R
5 of 34

17 AUG 1976

MEMORANDUM FOR: DDA Information and Privacy Staff

FROM: [redacted]
Deputy for Information Management
Information Services Group, Services Staff, DDO

THROUGH: DDO Privacy and Information Coordinator

SUBJECT: Request from Costa G. Couvaras *

REFERENCE: F 76-291, 2 August 1976

1. Attached for return to Mr. Couvaras are the PERICLES Mission documents which he wanted reviewed. We have completed review of this material and have no objection to its release. We believe, however, that Mr. Couvaras should be requested to remove all classification markings from any additional copies of this material which he may have in his possession.

2. With respect to your question as to the possibility of comparing the material Mr. Couvaras sent with our OSS citations, we believe that such proceeding would be impractical, since it would involve an expense (a minimum of $800 worth of professional search time) which would more than offset any possible gains that might be accrued therefrom.

[signed] [redacted]

[redacted]

Attachment: a/s

ISG/IM/[redacted]:tcf
17 August 1976

Distribution:
Orig. - Addressee, w/att.
1 - DDO/PIC, w/o att.
1 - IP/AR, w/o att.
1 - ISG/DIM, w/att.
1 - Chrono, w/o att.

Wash OSS Perv-70
#561

30 Oct. 1945

FIELD REPORT BY 1st. Lt. COSTA G. COUVARAS, (Pericles Mission), LABOR SECTION, SI

ORGANIZATION & OPERATIONS OF "PERICLES" MISSION

The "Peridles Mission was organized in Cairo, Egypt, as part of a Labor Desk, SI, project with the purpose of contacting the labor elements within the leadership of the Greek Resistance Movement known as E.A.M. The Mission, (which was composed of: Second Lt. Costa G. Couvaras, A.U.S.; Sp(X) 2/c Constantine Papadopoulos, U.S. Navy; and John Kakossaios, a Greek citizen who was to act as liaison with the EAM), left Cairo on March 13, 1944, and proceeded to Greece by means of a route tha had been already established by the Greek Desk and the OSS Maritime Unit. After a forty five day trip by "caique", which took us to Alexandria, Cyprus, up the Turkish Coast and Smyrna, we landed at the island of Evvia in occupied territory on 1 May 1944 and were warmly welcomed by the Antartes. With the help of the antartes we proceeded North-West, to the region of Karpenesi, where the H.Q. of the EAM and its military branch, the ELAS were situated at the time. After 17 days of hazardous travel, crossing German lines a number of times, and eluding German forces and sea patrols, the Mission reached Karpenesi and made contact with the leaders of the Resistance Movement. The difficult task of proving our identity to the satisfaction of the guerrilla leaders was accomplished by the presence of Kakossaios, who had been loaned to us by the Greek Seamen's Union of Alexandria, and who knew some of the people at EAM HQ.; also by the presence at HQ. of a relative of mine who held a high post with the EAM leadership.

Soon after the Mission's arrival at EAM HQ., I met the most important members of the EAM Central Committee and explained my mission to them, that is, the desire of the Labor Desk to develpp closer connection with the EAM movement, and the possibility of developing an intelligence organization within Greece which would utilize the existing aparatus of the political organization of the EAM and the ELAS

This basic idea of cooperation with the OSS was accepted by the EAM leaderchip, and I was referred to the chief of EAM intelligence to work on the details. During these discussions I was careful from the start to point in no uncertain terms that my authority was limited, and could not conclude an agreement, but would have to refer our discussions to my HQ., and that the decision would be taken at Cairo. Subjequently a plan was worked out by which 12 combined OSS-EAM missions were envisaged that would have furnished a complete intelligence coverrage of the whole of Greece. The plan was submitted to Cairo, (See Labor Desk Report #32308, on Peridles Mission -- Submitted 25 August, 1944, by Lt.(j.g.) Carl Devoe, USNR, Head of Labor Desk, SI-OSS, Cairo), originally in May, 1944, and after a long delay the answer was received that the plan had been finally rejected.

After the rejection of the above plan the Pericles Mission remained near EAM HQ. and transmitted political and military intelligence reports by wireless and courier to Cairo. Intelligence was generally gathered indirectly through EAM-ELAS channels, but at times I had the opportunity to check these reports personally.

The Pericles Mission was the only Allied SI mission near EAM HQ., and that fact gave me a great and unique opportunity to know personally most of the leaders of the Greek Resistance Movement. This helped me a great deal in the sense that through daily discussions with these Resistance leaders I was in a position to knowtheir actions and thoughts. It helped me to be able to estimate, more or less accurately, the political situation of the country and to report accordingly to my superiors. At the time of the Lebanon Talks between the different factions in Greek politics, through my connection with EAM leaders, I was able to keep OSS well informed on the situation, and managed to secure a number of official cables that were being sent through British channels to the EAM delegates at Cairo, but which, as it proved later, were never delivered to their destination by the British Later on, when an actual break took place between the EAM and the other faction of the Lebanon agreement, I took a more direct hand in the matter and helped in bringi

3. The Greek Desk should have had a good liaison officer with the Antartes at Evvia long before its chief actually decided to sent one. Many of the proble of OSS would have thus been simplified. This fact, though, presuppeses that the antartes should have received some help, financial and otherwise, for their cooperation with us.

4. In order to enter into Greece, the Pericles Mission used the "caique" service which was in operation at the time. The opinion I gained in this trip from Alexandria to Evvia, which took six weeks in all, was that the service was able to function in spite of the inadequacies and mistakes of its personel. Its success might be mostly due to the ability of the native Greek captains and crews, and to the inefficiency of the Germans. The following inadequacied of our bases can be pointed out: a. Personel was inefficient, having no practical conception of the work to be done; b. living conditions were poor, while they could be improved tremendously; c. The food was not good enough; d. The base personel was usually antagonistic to passing through personel and at times friction developed; e. Base personel did not show appreciation for those inside occupied territory, and many of our Greek agents got discouraged with the treatm f. The security situation was never very good. The idea of secrecy was carrie at such extremes at times that it worked against security in the sense that it made the natives more curious, and lead to gossiping about our operations; g. base commanders in most cases neglected contact with the local authorities and population, consequently they could not be well informed on the local situation and were perpetually in fear of forein spies; h. The bad condition of the "caiques", however, was the most serious matter that one can criticise. The caiques in most cases were old, and their engines in bad condition. The "caique" in which we made the crossing of the Aigian, (most dangerous part of our journey) needed two hours of repair work every time the engine stoppe. Our bases had no mechanics at all and depended on the British to do the work, and that when

Another interesting thing that struck me when I came to this port was to see the use money is put to - instead of toilet paper the Andartes use money bills of 100 drachmas - (pre-war value of hundred drachmas was one U.S. dollar). The price of gold according to latest information is now from 40 to 50 million drachmas per oke. People around here do not use money as a means of exchange. The barter system is in wide use. Those who have dry goods to sell, they exchange them with something else. If they do not have any goods to exchange, they starve.

This is the first letter from Greece, but I will try to send you as much mail as possible. I am arranging here for good communications. The Andartes here are willing to help me as much as they can; the speed with which it will reach you wil depend on our caique communications. Will also send you as much cabled intelligenc as possible.

I hope that your work there is proceeding O.K. The way things look to me from now, we shall need men soon. Especially the radio trainer. As I found out here, we can get plenty of radio men in Greece. The radio union is one of the main supporters of the EAM.

I am enclosing a note from George to Nick. Please give it to him and greeting from myself. Also tell him that the head of the port here, (the first Andarte we met), is an old pal of his from the Spanish war. He is Vasilis Messadakos, a former ship engineer. He sends his regards to him, and said that if Nick needs any men from here he can send as many as he wants. This man is very helpful to us, and possibly will be more so in the future.

Tell Young that the Andartes here are very thankful for whatever help he sends them. They are especially enthusiastic about the Tommy guns, but they are in such need for ammunition that they prefer to receive bullets rather than rifles. They like both, of course, but the need for bullets is great (9 mm Ammo. is very diffucult to get from the Germans because only the SS troops carry automatic weapons They need other mechanisms that will fire land mines in number all at the same time They sabotage the roads over here so that the enemy cannot get in and out easily. But, they like to blow a long part of the road at one time so that they can get large parts of convoys.

Soon, I will send on undeveloped film of the life of the Andartes. Please develop them and make wide use of them. Send them to the States as soon as possibl

Tell Young also that the Andartes have large numbers of Italian rifles and some light machine guns, but they are badly in need of ammo. for both. If he could send any they will be very thankful. There is a possibility that ~~xxxxxxxxxxx~~ Italian ammunition might be available in Egypt. Tell him also that the British send a few things to the Andartes as well, and receive plenty of help from them in spite of their complaints. The post chief here tells me that his orders are to help the British as much as possible, but some of the British agents here are doing some bad things which the Andartes don't like. (British agents strip refugees of their clothing and other possessions, and instead of leaving such stuff with the Andartes who need it badly, they sell it themselves and pocket the money.

Please excuse the bad writing and any repetitions in this letter. It is written on my knee, at the entrance of a hut with about twenty persons around and with many interruptions.

Alex and George send their greetings to you.

Please inform my friends that I am O.K. Will try to write to them sometime later.

By the way, the Andartes that I met here do not like Papandreou, the new Greek Premier. They say that he was, (with Gonatas), the secret adviser of Premier Rallis, and one of the organizers of the Security Battalions. We listened to his broadcast last night and the Andartes here did not like his remarks about the ELAS and the EAM; also, his lack of mention of the destructive and fratricide work of the Security Battalions.

I have to stop here, because we have to move from this place.

With best regards,

COSTA

Letter # 2 — GREECE — From Pericles:

Evvia May 4, 1944

Dear Mort -

We are proceeding north. I am writing to you in a hurry from the HQ. of the Evvia Regiment of the ELAS. From preliminary talks it seems that our mission will have full success.

This letter is written in order to give you some information about the new movement that has been formed in Free Greece as a result of the elections. I witnessed the election in Evvia and have a great deal of information about them, (first hand). They were fair. There were candidates of all political hues, including royalists, but the result has been overwhelmingly pro-EAM, and my impression is that the feeling of the people in the villages is almost totally pro-EAM. No time to write more about it now.

The regiment here has three battalions, with a total of 1000 andartes, (active). There are many thousand in the reserve that want to become andartes, but there are no arms to give them. The third battalion which we visited yesterday has thirty men without shoes, and very few men have more than fifty bullets. It is pathetic to hear the men and their leaders tell you "Give us arms and we can raise many thousands of antartes and chase the Germans out." Will make a long report soon about the situation.

The new government: premier, Alex Svolos, professor of Constitutional law at Athens University; vice-premier, Col. Euripides Bakirdjis (also Minister of Supply); Foreign Affairs, Svolos also; Interior, George Siantos, Secy of Communist Party; Justice, Elias Tsirimokos, president of the Popular Democratic Party; Agriculture, Costas Gabrielides, president of the Peasant party; War, Gen. Emmanuel Mantakas; Economics, Angel Angelopoulos, prof. at Athens University; Welfare, Peter Kokkalis, prof. at Athens Univ.; Communications, Nicholas Askoutsis, former Gov. General of Crete; National Economy, —— Hadjibeys, former deputy from Piraeus; Education, left open for a representative of the Democratic Union of Papanastasiou.

The deputies of the 1936 parliament that Metaxas dissolved have been invited to participate in the new Parliament, and many of them have gone to ELAS HQ. A number of the best generals of Greece are now in ELAS HQ. and participate in the organization.

There much more to send, but this is three o' clock in the morning, and the candle light is almost out. Besides we have to start at six our long hike to the ELAS HQ. in the mountains of Central Greece, and we have to go on fast from now on.

Best Regards,

Costa

Ten Russian soldiers in German uniforms cabe to the 3rd ELAS regiment and gave up three days ago with all their qquipment. More are expected soon. I am sending pictures of the as andartes.

K

May 28, 1944.

Dear Mort:

This is again a short letter. A special messenger was found leaving for Evvia, and I am taking the opportunity to send you some mail.

You lost us for a number of days, and I hope you were not worried too much. We had a wonderful trip crossing mountains and plains, but mostly mountains, since we left Evvia. Our batteries gave out soon after we started out trip, and carrying them on mule back, the liquid that makes them work got spilled. In our haste to reach our destination wecould not wait to try to repair the damage and communicate with you. When we reached here, (16 days after leaving our landing place), the EAM lent us their own batteries; however, they were not charged enough and our set could not work. At this point Alex thought that there was something wrong with the set, and we went to another village, where the antartes have their wireless station, in order to try to fix it. The people there found out that it was not the set but the batteries that had given us all the trouble. To make the story short, we have been here more than ten days, and we still have trouble with the batteries. We had to leave our battery chargers on the way for lack of transportation facilities, and now we have to sent our batteries to be charged at another village more than four hours away.

We decided to come to EAM HQ. and not go to the city, because when we lande we found out that there was an election taking place throughout Greece, and that everybody of importance in the EAm would be at the free part of Greece, where the "National Council" was going to meet. In reality, everybody was here, including an uncle of mine who has an important post in the provisional government. The reception on the part of the EAM was good, as you must have realized from my cables. They were glad to see Americans and were willing to cooperate with us as much as possible, much more so, because it was the Labor Desk that was asking their cooperation. The EAM is willing to let me have their intelligence bulletins right away, and give us men in order to organize our intelligence groups, which will work in cooperation with them. What we need quickly is a number of radio sets, and somebody to train here fast a number of already experienced radio-telegraphers, (I meat, train them to our own system). If I had a better man than the one I have here, I could arrange to have him start training a group of men to our own methods right away.. Unfortunately, however, Alex did not prove very good. He is without ambition, and initiative, and I have to follow him in every little detail to see that he does things right. He is not bad as a radio man, but he is lazy and careless. In any case, we are getting along, with plenty of scolding on my part.

Coming tomore important matters, I want to tell you that I am very happy tobe in Greece at this time. It is very difficult from abroad to get a real picture of what is happening here. Even the O. S. S. does not have enough, (or accurate enough), information to make one see the truth. Greece is a much different country than what I left it nine years ago, and most of the changes have taken place during the last three years of German Italian and Bulgarian occupation. My trip throught Eastern and Central Greece has convinced me that the information we get in Cairo is not always right, and that, impressions madeby talking to people coming out of Greece are mostly wrong. The Greeks that come to Cairo are not representative of the majority of the people here. They arerather representative of a certain minority. They are either former army officrs or professional men who feel bitter about the changes that have taken place among the majority of the population here and mostly among the lowever [illegible] classes. These [illegible] changes do not favor a middle class, either the army cast, (against which a great part of the popula-

tion feels a certain bitterness due to the fact that the army officers did very little to take the leadership of the people against the enemies of thecountry). The Communists are very strong in Greece today, and that because they have taken the leadership in action and have shown ability in leading the people in their struggle. A great part of the younger generation is Communist, and, amazing enough, the most conservative element in the Greek social structure, the peasant, has become Communist to a certain degree. It is not always the poor and the landless that support the antartes or the Communist leadership today. In fact, the "trash" from the very poor have gone with the enemy, having been recruited into the "Security Battalions", that haveb een formed by the quisling government. Most of the supporters of the EAM in the villages come from the average village family, which owns its own home and possesses a certain amount of ~~property~~ property. Of course, the Communist have changed some of their ideas now about property and religion, and the conservatism of the peasant on these points is not affected. And of course the EAM is not all Communist, but it is fart o the Left of the old political parties of the country, which seem to be totally dead as faras the great majority of the people that I have talked to areconcerned.

Speaking of dead things in Greece today, the main one is the monarchy. My impression is that the monarchy is a thing of the past in this country. Those who think of reviving the issue, better change their minds, because they cannot revive the dead. We crossed parts of Greece which werestrongholds of royalism in the past. Now, when you ask the people if they are going to vote for the return of the King, they feel a certain amount of shame that you have even put that question to thar consideration. I can speak with a certain amount of authority on public opinion here, because fortunately I had the opportunity of mixing freely with the people and I have tried to spent my time profitably that way. Certain parts of the country I have crossed as American officer in Uniform, and other parts as a Greek traveller. Everyday I talked with scores of villagers in groups and individually, trying to gain their confidence, and as much as it is humanly possible I have tried to gether the truth about things and issues as they are. Of course, I do not indend to stop here. I shall have to travel and see plenty more before writing my main report on the subject of Greece.

What amazed all of us since we set our feet on Greek soil is the amount of control that the EAM exercises on every part of Greece. To a certain extant one can say that the EAM is the most effective government of the country today. The greater part of the country is ruled and controlled by the EAM. Idon't mean that the antartesare always there, and that the Germans cannot go in a certain region if they try hard; What I mean is that the EAM collects taxes every from such places that the Germans have troops garissoned in. That even in German controlled places the old courts have been suspended and the so-called "Popular Courts", (Laika Dikastiria), work effectively. Also that EAM self-government, (Autodioikisis), for small and big communities has been established throughout the country. These last two chages are very popular with the people, and have done a great deal to bring the people to the side of the EAM. I have learned first hand (from people that have been effected themselves), that EAM collects taxes even from such towns as Athens and Piraeus. I met merchants in villages that paid taxes to the EAM in the city of Athens. In such cases they are given a receipt so that they will not be charged again when they get to their village.

The organization of the EAM, from whenever we passed is amazing. Every village has its own "organization", and you need to have an EAM permit to enter. In case you pass by, doing work for the "organization", (meaning the

EAM), if you are an antartes or a civilian, the village organization will feed you and lodge you at night if it is necessary to stay. They will also supply you with horses and a liaison to the next village in case you need it. This is the way we travelled since we set foot on Evvia. But it is not only for a few travellers a day that things are organized so efficiently. We witnessed a whole company of 250 men coming to a village of 150 houses and within half an hour every antartes had been lodged in private homes. Travelers eat at the homes where they stay. Large groups of antartes get their supplies from the "ETA", Supply of the Antartes". When we had to cross waters the EAM organizati commandeered motor-boats for us and got us safe accross, although a couple of times we were chassed by Germans patrol boats and barely saved our skin. At one time we crossed the railroad line in the plain of Thessaly, (a convoy of 150 animals and the same number of men -- the animals carrying provisions for the ELAS HQ.), less than half a mile from a german outpost, where two armored rail cars and 250 Germans were based. But the EAM has such a good organization that information flows constantly as to the activities of the enemy at a certain time. At another time we were waiting for a motor-boat to take us ~~xxx~~ away at ~~xxx~~ a small village near the sea which was crossed by a main road. A telephone message comes in the the special wire of the organization saying that a number of Germans ~~xxxxx~~ with armoredcars and field artillery pieces were coming by. The organization of the village helped us in a hurry and we carried our baggage to the hills where we stayed until the Germans left. In cases of this type all the male population abandons the village for fear that they will be taken prisoners.

In different sections of the country there is some difference as to the reactions of the people towards the EAM and the antartes. In Evvia, there is much enthusiasm for antartes in general, and one can detect it by the willingness with which the people accept you in their homes and give you their animals to carry your baggage; also by the time it takes for a passer-by to get his free feal and his free animals. However, as one proceeds to the mainland the willingness to help you lessens consderabley, and the nearer he gets to the mountains of Central Greece, the less help he gets. I havetried to explain this phenomenon, and by asking innumerable questions to all kinds of people, I havecome to acertain conclusion to which most people agree. It is mostly due to the fact that this section has had the main burdon of the antartes movement itself for the last two and one half years. The antartes first appeared here and haveb een here ever sine . In addition, this section is the poorest section the the whole country and the burden is felt more strongly. Also the people are lesseducated, and thus they are effectedby patriotic motives with a social tint to a smaller degree. There is though another important reason which has effected the people economically harder than the people in other sections. The constant struggle here has cut down communications and foodstuffs are much more difficult to secure than other parts of Greece. In addition, the Germans have seen to it that the difficulties are increased by cutting out altogether the help that the International Red Cross has given to other sections of the country. A final reason, which although difficult to believe, seems to have a strong foundation in fact, is that this section has not felt the enemy very much. The Germans and the Italians were here but little. The Greek Security Battalions, (which the people hate more than the Germans), have never been here, and the people can compain against the hardships they suffer from the antartes being here, because they do not exactly realize what it means to have the enemy in their villages. It seems to be generally true that sections that have suffered more from the Germans and the Security Battalions are those that are supporting the antartes more. This

is true of Evvia, (It was told to me many times that Evvia is much more pro-EAM since the Security Battalions visited the place), and all the information I getc oincided that the same is true about Peloponnesos.

Speaking of Security Battalions, Of what I have witnessed in Evvia where the Battalions spent about two months, the people hate them more than they hate the Germans, and they have every reason to hate them because the are more effective than the Germans in what they do. The scum of the earth seems to have been recruited into them. That is what everybody says, and a prisoner whom I saw at one antartes post fits this description. The "Battalions" enter villages and pillage, burn houses and rape women. In addition they tell the people that tney came to rid them from the Communists, and that the Allies are in agreement with their purposes. They claim encourggement and support on the part of the Allies, which makes for a bad piece of poblicity on our part, because their actions have nothing to comma d them. The Allies are making a big mistake ~~kkxx~~ in letting themselves be in any wayc onnected with them; and if England does notcare too much about it, I think that the U.S. should. We have an excellent name among the Greek people, and it is not difficult to keep it. In this case, however, we need in a number of broadcasts to condemr in no uncertainterms the Security Battalions, and what they stand for. If the Greeks are divided, this is the most unhealthy division, because these battalions really stink, and anybody touching them will get a big stink which will stay for generations.

Another impression, which I received in Evvia, and ~~xhxnhx~~ by talking with people from other parts of the country is that is is with these battalions and with a wave of terror that the Germans are trying to keep hold of Greece. If the antartes had enough arms, clothing and food, they could grow many times their strengnt, and it is not inconceivable that they could chase the Germans out of the country. Of course it is not secret that the Germans do not have a big force in Greece. At some sections of the country, like Evvia, more antartes are not accepted because they cannot be clothed or supplied with arms. In Evvia, in a certain battalion, (the 3rd battalion of the 7th Regiment), I saw with my own eyes 30 men without shoes. That out of a battalio force of 300. Few days before there were many more without shoes, but the day before I arrived the battalion had received some shoes from the British, and a number of the men were taken care of. We have heard many stories here of men fighting with ~~kxnkx~~ barefeel. There are plenty of young men who want to join the antartes , but do not do so because thy think of the great hardships they will have to endure. These hardships are real and have witnessed them myself to some degree. When you eat with antartes, you get two meals a day, but they are such meals that you are perpetually hungry. The antartes here are begging for bullets, because no one, not even the officers, have enough. I meh antartes having as little as three catridges in their belts; and to the chief of a division, a famous guerrila leader, who once saved ten American aviators from the hands of the Germans, I made a present of 50 rounds of 9MM ammo. for his German Pistol, because he had very little of it himself. He was indeed very greatful.

I started this as a short letter, because I expecte to give it to one of the "national Councilors" who was returning to Evvia, but soon found out that the man had already gone. so the small letter extended to a smallreport. As such I will add a few more details about my discussions here and some other matters.

We reached this place at the time of the meeting of the "National Council", which is some sort of a parliament, andeverybody here was busy at the time. I met with the EAM chiefs for one hour and a half two days after our arrival

here, which was the 17th of May, the meeting taking place on the 19th. I talk to them about my Mission. I told them first, that I had no authority to conclude any agreement. Secondly, that I had very little to offer; and thirdly, that it was to their benefit to cooperate with us, because it is important tha the Americans get first hand information themselves on the Greek situation. A that the Americnans, who have no big interests to support in Greece, will sta on the side of the right. They accepted my thesis without much difficulty, To that effect, the fact that I was talking for the Labor Desk, helped a great deal. Also our connection with the Greek Maritime Union, and the presence of Karayannis' representative who came with me from Cairo had much to do. Anothe factor to our benefit was the fact that an uncle of mine holds a high post in the EAM and was present among the four EAM chiefs with whom I had my discus the first time. These people were soon satisfied that they had to deal with a sympathetic Greek-American. From the first time they promissed to help us us much as possible. I told them that we would like to use their organization and their own men to a great extent, but that the main agent in eachcase will have to be a person trained by us either an American of Greek descent, a person recruited in Greece, or one recuited in Egypt, but in each case a man sympathetic to the labor point of view. They agreed to help us set up our organization, with the understandig, though, that they too will be able to use the same facilities to collect information, but in any case we shall have first priority. In subsequest meetings I asked to have mail route set up and also to see to it what could be done with setting up groups in such far-away provinces as Peloponnesos, Eastern Macedonia, and Thrace. The meeting of the "National Council was helpful in a way, because they main EAM leaders were gathered here, and ideas were exchanged as to how agent groups could be set-up in their different regions. Now, I am waiting for word from you in order to proceed with the talks. The only thing I received from you so far is a short telegram congradulating us on safe arrival. Thre is no more news from you so many days now and that causes me a great deal of anxiety. I hope that everything is O.K. and that you will be able to act soon from your side, because this side can act quickly and can set up a good organizatio soon. Even airports are ready to be used by us. And I do really hope that our people will not have to suffer the delays and the hardships that we suffered during our long trip in the Mediterranian, and that they will not have to face thedangers wo did face. Suffice to say that after we left Smyrna in a small caique thirty feet long, we had to turnback three different times, after crossing one third of the Aegian or more, each time. To tell you the truth, these were excursions which I cannot say that I enjoyed. Personnally I feel that plane service should be one ofour main interests, and should be set up as soon as possible.

As soon as I entered the outskirts of this mountain town, I met an old friend of mine whom I was considering to use from the first time ofmy appointment to this mission. He is well educated, especially in the field of agricultural economics, and has been working for a number of yearswith a government economic organization. Besides being educated in American schools, he has been in the past correspondent in Greece for U.S. papers. It was under this capacity of his that I worked with him in the past for a number ofyears. This is the man whom I mentioned in a cable of mine as having set up in Athens as agent specializing in economic information. He will communicate with you under the name of Christos Pashalides, or CRIPA in case he is given the use of a radio set. At present I gave him fifty gold sovereigns, for his expenses, and whatever he might have to spent forhis workand promised to him more money later, in case he can expand and do a good job for us.

Having in mind your instructions on economic information, , and also a talk I had with Young on the same subject, I have given him detailed instructions on what we want, with the understanding that he will have to work and give in special reports on any economic subject/ in particular that we might ask information on later.

I am enclosing some printed material and will be sending more and more each time. The copies of the "Free Greece", ~~daily~~ EAM newspaper, will be of interest to R.&A. They deal with the happenings at the "National Council" meeting. To be sure that they will reach you, I intend to mail more copies of the same dates with future mails.

At present I am busy organizing mail routes to Evvia, and Athens, which will enable us to send mail every week or every ten days.

Please keep our personal mail there until we let you know what to do with it. When the time comes to send it in, please take off the envelopes with our names on, but write on a corner of the letter the name and address of the sender.

With very best regards to you and my friends in Cairo as well as the people in the Washington office.

June 1, 1944

Dear George:

I am pretty far away from the place I expected to be and consequently have not been able to see the person you asked me to see and deliver your message. However, a personal friend of mine, whom I know for many years, left this place a few days ago and have asked him to deliver your message. In fact, he had to see the same person and give him another message from somebody else.

As you might have realized, I am at present in the mountains of Central Greece. This is the free part of the country, and I want to let you know a few things about this place which you can communicate to your brother. Conditions in this section are very bad as far as food and medecines are concerned. This section of the country has always been very poor, but now things are much worse for a number of reasons. In the first place, communications are very bad. The enemy has taken away the peoples' cars, carts, horse wagons, mules, horses, etc. Secondly, the people of this section cannot communicate easily with the occupied section. The International Red Cross does not help the free part of Greece, because the Germans forbid it. Another important reason is that a large number of families that lived in the past from remittances from the United States, are actually starving today, because they do not have any means of subsistance. This last class of people are living under worst conditions than anybody else. In addition to everything else, the people of this section have had the burden of the antartes movement on their shoulders for the last two years.

There exist homes in the villages from which we pass that do not touch bread for days and live on greens. Some times children stop us in the street and ask for bread. Grown up people do the same. These people are not professinal beggars either. They are members of respectable village families who are trying hard but cannot get anything, because there is nothing to be had at reasonable prices. You see little children with fat bellies around here, (a result of hunger), with their heads full of sours, (for lack of vitamins and oils), anaemic, because of malaria, and full of psoriasis, (for lack of soap and for lack of bodily resistance).

The situation is so bad around here that during last winter groups of villages demonstrated to the British Missions asking for help. Help was put forth as a demand on their part, and I understand, in some cases, the people told the Missions either to help or to pack up and get out of Greece.

The result of this was some kind of help on the part of the British, which although ~~insufficient~~ insuficient, and as the people say, badly distributed, has saved very many lives. This help is supposedly given to families that had their homes burned down, their goods stlen, or ~~and~~ they are destitute, (ofcourse in most villages everybody falls within one of these three categories now). Every village is divided into three categories, according to the degree of need for each person. Then one gold sovereign isgiven for each group of 6, 7, or 9 persons in accordance with the category one belongs to, (this is per month).

As I said above, this help has saved many lives from starvation, but it is not adequate by any stretch of the imagination. Prices here are frightful. Everything , including eggs and cheese, and bread is three to five times higher than Athens. We are three persons in my group and we try to live moderately, because we don't to offend people around us, but it costs us one gold sovereign a day. The people that get the gold sovereign from the British manage as follows: Suppose a family of six people get one sovereign in this village. Then they can buy 40 okes of corn,(not wheat but corn), to secure their corn bread for the month. What they do in this case, however, is to get a mule or a donkey, and go down to the plain of Thessaly, (which will take anywhere from three to six days, according to the distance from the village to the plain), and there buy from 60 to 65 okes of corn for one gold sovereign.

I am writing all these in order to show you the need for some help, financia or otherwise, for this section of the country. I have witnessed conditions in the mountainous district of Central Greece, but I hear that conditions are the same in every mountain district of the country, because the Germans are trying to starve the people in order to make them turn against the antartes. Needless to say this trick does not work. My opinion is that the Greek War Relief, or any other relief agency, suchas UNNRA could help, if with nothing else, at least with money. In the same way that gold pounds are distributed by the British, ~~[illegible]~~ in that same way money can be distributed by an American relief organization to the people of the mountain districts of Greece. As far as the cities are concerned, the food problem there has been solved by the help of the International Red Cross, and there is no need for urgent help there.

You will be doing a real service to humanity if you bring some people to realise the importance for American help to Greece, and the possibility of doing such a thing. It will be the easiest thing to distribute money here, because

because every village has a self-government organization, and the only thing to be done is to give the money to the organization, which is elected by the villagers themselves and knows the condition of every family. As far as gettin money into the country, you know that gold sovs are heave, and can be dropped from a plane! Medicines needed badly are the following: Anti-malaria drugs, Sulfa drugs, vitamins and minerals in tablet or injection form, typhus, typhoid, tetanus and other injections; ointments for psoriais and other skin diseases; badages and sterilized cotton; antiseptics, and all kinds of other medicines.

Needles to say that speed is of great importance in getting help here. Even now that we are in the summer months there is plenty of starvation, and more is coming. The next two months will be very critical for the mountain districts of the country, because harvest does not come in this place until August, and the pantries are empty. Try to get people to realize the importance of this matter, if we want to help those who are fighting daily on our side.

Other things needed here in addition to food and medicines, are shoes, clothing and house utensils. Germnas, Italians and Greek Security Battalions have done a good job in taking away the possessions of the villagers. In addition, one must realise that one fourth of the villages of Greece have been burned down. But even in the cases where the enemy and the quislings didn't burn the houses, they took away the animals and other possessions of the people. We passed a villge one day where there was not even one woman wearing shoes. Children of the most well to do families wear shoes made out of rugs. Nobody has a decent pair of shoes on. The enemy soldiers took away kitchen utensils too, and the broke dishes and other things they could not carry. Do you remember the old system of dowry, by which every girl had to prepare all the clothing needed for her future home? Well, very few girls have their dowries at present, because these too have been stolen.

If you want more information on this subject, you can ask at the office to look through some reports I am sending which deal with these matters for each district (eparhia) separately.

So much for the present, and I do really hope you will be able to do something on the matter.

I will appreciate to hear from you. Tell me of your doings and of what is happening in your circles.

With my best regards to you, and please send my regards to our mutual friends when you write to them.

Sincerely

GREECE -- Envelope 3B -- From Pericles

June 1, 1944

ELECTIONS FOR THE "NATIONAL COUNCIL" OF E.A.M.

THE FIRST DAY THAT THE Pericles Mission arrived in Evvia, (30th of April), an election was taking place in Greece, the purpose of which was to elect a "National Council", which would give popular support to the newly created PEEA, (Political Committee of National Liberation).

On that day electors were voted for by the different communities, (in accordance with the number of people living in each community). These electors met later and elected the "National Councilor" for each district, (Eparchia).

Voting was secret. Men and women who had passed their 18th birthday had the right to vote. In order for one to have the right to be elected as an elector, he or she had to be more than 21 years old.

Soldiers voted separately for their own electors, but their electors voted together with the civilians for the "Nationa Councilor" of the district they belonged.

The writer witnessed the elections in Evvia personally and gathered a great deal of information on the subject during a seventeen day trip through the rural districts of Greece. Most of the information, however, comes from Evvia, where Pericles Mission spent the week right after the elections.

Of what I have seen and heard, I have been satisfied that the elections were secret and that there was no coersion on the part of anybody to have individual voters vote for a certain person. People, (men and women), came to the election committee, had their name checked, and were handed a piece of white paper on which they were supposed to write the name of one or more, (according to the number of electors to be elected from that district), candidates. Nobody else except the voter knew the name he wrote on the paper. In case the voter was illiterate he or she could ask anybody, (of the voter's choosing), to write the choice on the paper. I have asked very many people to find out if there was any coersion in the process of voting and I am totally satisfied that there was not any.

Appointment of Candidates: -- Any member of a community had the right (if he or she was above 21), to put himself forth as a candidate. In Evvia there were candidates of all political beliefs, that was true in every one of the communities. The EAM tried to put forth only the exact number of candidates which could be elected as electors in each case. For that purpose all the political parties that collaborated in the EAM had a meeting in advance and selected thir canddates. This candidate of the EAM campaigned on the EAM ticket and with the beliefs of the EAM and not of the political party to which he actually belonged, that is Communist, Socialist, Agrarian, etc. In addition to the EAM, however, anybody else, or any other party could put forth candidates and were actually free to do so. The thing one had to do to be a candidate was to hand in his or her name to the election committee in advance.

The voters in the different districts knew well what they were voting for. In the first place they knew all about the party to which each candidate belonged. Even in the case that somebody was an EAM candidate, the voters knew if he was a Communist, a Socialist, or any thing else. The candidates that were outside of the EAM were well known too, that is Democratic, (Old Liberal Party etc.), or Royalist. In fact, whenever I stopped in villages asking about the political beliefs of the candidates, I had no difficulty in finding out to which old or new political parties each one belonged.

The following results were gathered by myself from the different villages of Evvia through which we passed, Questions were preferably asked from groups of villagers in the coffee houses or the village square so that each could correct the other and a more accuate picture could be gotten. Let us again keep in mind that the candidates did not claim to represent parties, but at the same time the voters know each candidate individually and what he stood for. The division into parties is my own; that is, foreach case I insisted in finding out to which party each individual candidate for elector belonged. (That was not difficult to find out).

Election Results in Five Evvia Island Villagers

VARIPOMBI -- EAM candidate 132 votes -- Elected. (He is member of the Communist Party). Agrarian 18 vote; Liberal 12 votes; Royalist 1 vote. (From above 4 candidates, one was elected).

ST. GEORGE -- (4 candidates, 2 elected), EAM candidate, (not a Communist), 149 votes--elected. EAM candidate, (Communist party member), 137 votes -- elected. Royalist candidate 67 votes. Democratic candidate (?) votes. This is the only village at which the royalist handidate had such strength. There were only ten Communists before the war in this village.

KERIVOLIA -- For this village I don't have exact results, but the EAM candidate (not a Communist), lost here and the Liberal Party candidate won the election.

MANIKIA -- EAM condidate, (Communist party member), 275 votes; EAM candidate, (not a Communist), 198 votes; 3rd EAM candidate 171 votes; EAM ELD party candidate, 150 votes.

SETA -- (4 candidates, 2 elected), EAM 231; EAM 230; Liberal Party, 5; Royalist 4.

Election Results in Carpenesi -- Central Greece

In this village there is acertain amount of opposition. about 1/5 of the population. However, during the election this opposition to the EAM did not show itself openly and abstained from the elections by hot putting forth a candidate and by not voting at the elections. Consequently the EAM organization appointed four candidate, the exact number of electors that were tobe elected, and the result of thevoting was as follows: Out of 2500 population 953 voted. The Communist received 949 votes; the Agrarian 915; the Popular Democrat, (two of them), 936 and 932 votes. The popularity of the Communist was explained to me as due to his personal appeal. He is a member of the popular Court here and his contributions are appreciated by the people. About ten votes in Carpenisi were given for a lawyer, who is considered by the EAM people as the arch-reactionary of the village.

My personal impression from the elections is that they weregenerally fair. In certain districts, such as Evvia, they were more than fair, I can say that they were excellent. In other districts in Central Greece, they were not as good in this respect. The EAM there called the village to a general meeting for the purpose of selecting their candidate. Emphasis was put on the fact that thevillage should present a united fron, and that only one candidate should be presented. In this case, of course, only the EAM candidate was selected,because there is no doubt about the majority of the people in each village being with the EAM. But the opposition did not have the opportunity to show its strength, although this opposition in general is not very strong. In all my twenty days trip through Greece I have

heard only of one village in which the opposition to the EAM might be 40-50%. In all other cases where there is opposition it is between 10 and 25% of the total number of people of the village.

Another case of opposition to the official candidate was told to me by my muleteer one day. He said that in his village, in Central Greece, about half the people that voted, voted for people who were not candidates, because they did not like the person who was put forth as a candidate by the EAM organization. The candidate was a stranger to the village, and the people resented it. However, he said, that the people in general were for the EAM in his village.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS:

This is by no means a full report on the elections that took place in Greece during the month of April 1944. It is rather intended to give the impressions of one man as he saw things and about what he heard in one section of the country. However, an attempt will be made to draw some general conclusions on the elections and about public opinion in Greece. The conclusions will be of limited authority on account of the fact that they are the impressins of a person that has been in Greece for only a little over one month. However, it should be taken into consideration that this person knows Greece very well; the Greek language is his mother tongue, and that he made a special effort to sample public opinion. Also that during this month in Greece, he has almost crossed the country on foot and on mule from East to West, and half the island of Evvia. He has also followed many of the sessions of the "National Council". His conclusions follow:

1. The election was a pretty fair one: Some of the elected National Coundllors are among the best brains of the country. Among them there are 2 bishops and 2 priest, one of the latter a royalist, (the only person in the assembly to ask to have the question of the return of the King deffered until peace time); 5 university professors; 8 generals; 20 government workders; 5 industrialists; 15 doctors; 25 lawyers; 22 workers; 23 farmers; 10 newpapermen; 4 guerrilla leaders; 9 high school teachers; 10 scientists; etc.

2. The monarchy is a dead issue: We passed through districts that voted royalist for many generations, and realized by talking to the people that they don't want the king back. The main reason for the dislike of the King is the fact that he is considered responsible for the Metaxas regime. Also, because the people have been propagandized against the monarchy from all sides, and they feel pretty sure now that the king is something that cost money, without them gaining anything from this institution. Also, because the king is connected with the old parties and today there is a general trend against these parties.

The Communists are strong: The Communist party is very strong in Greece today. In villages, in many instances the Communists received more votes than more moderatecandidates. The old fears of the people towards the Communists have disapeared. The fact that the Communists have changed a great deal themselves has helped to aliviate that fear. The questions of Community of private property, and abolition of the church, that bothered the Greek peasant and make him look with suspicion towards Communism, does not exist today. In addition, the Communists do not claim that they will take power by force. The Communists have acted during this crisis of the country and the people appreciate this. They have taken the leadership against the enemy

and the fight against the Germans is popular in the country today in spite of the hardships that it brings with it. Also the communists in Greece today are among the main supporters of thefamily institution and morality in general.

4. The old parties have lost their hold on the people: This fact is due to a number of reasons, but the main one is that these parties did not communicate with the people for the last seven years. It is like a product in the United States, which has stopped its sales in stores and its advertizing/ for many years. The people have fortotten about it. In fact, the old political leadrs failed to take the leadership of the people during the difficult days of the history of the country -- that is during the Metaxas dictatorship and the period of occupation. Perhaps no-one of them was big enough to become a real leader , and all of them shrunk into their shells the minute they met with difficulties. All these things have created a changed in the political thinking of the people, and to some degree, hate and contempt for their old leaders. Of course, the new leaders today fan this contempt towads the old parties.

5. The majority of the people are with the EAM: Through the districts that we passed it was evident that the majority of the people favored the EAM. Even in parts where there is certain opposition there is no doubt that the EAM has the majority. All the people that favor the EAM are not Communists; however, the great majority of the are Left in their political thinking. The EAM and the Communist party havedone a great deal to educate the people politically and take them on their side. This is one of the main reasons why the people have left the old political parties, and feel a certain amount ofhate towards the monarchy. In addition, the EAM has educated the people politically through practice. It has created in every village any number of committeesf or self governmnnt, and the peasants participate actively in them. The people have felt certain amount of power in their hands and through it have received practical political education. When a farmer decided cases in the Popular Tribunal of his village, or settles questions of taxation, or has acted as intelligence liaison for the ELAS in his village, he will be less willing to think the old political boss as a "great man". The issues of "Popular Democacy" (Laokratia), decentralization of government, or self-government, (Autodioikisi), and Popular Tribunals, have done a great deal to win the Greek peasant for the EAM. These are issues for which the farmers of this country have fought for generations in a general and aimlessway. The EAM took these issues, gave them theoretical foundation and put them into practice.

6. Many members of the Greek church favor the EAM: The lower clergy is to a largeextent pro-EAM. Many priests arefighting side-by-side with the antartes. It is generally considered that the younger clergymen are in favor oft he EAM, and the older, either against it openly, ~~ex~~ because of fear of Communist influence, or they are neutral. Among the upper clergy, (metropolitans and bishops), a number of them arefavoring the EAM. Some, like the boshop of Kozani and the bishop of Pyrgos, are open supporters, and stand for the social changes that the EAM wants; there are others who do not come out for the EAM openly, but they are known to be favorably inclined towards it.

If a fuller report on the elections of the "Nationa Council" is needed, the following sources should be consulted. 1. The Bulletins of the PEEA (Those d ealing with the elections); 2. The report of George Siantos, to the "National Council"; 3. The EAM press, especially the Eleftheri Ellada, issues, 43-48.

GREECE --- Letter # 4 -- From Pericles

June 16, 1944

Dear Mort:

George Cardiakis asked me to go back to Cairo, and I am very glad to send him in order to communicate with you personally, and tell you how bad I feel with the way things have developed with the Pericles Mission. I feel that there must be something wrong somewhere, because I came here for a supposedly imprtant mission, and more than a month passes and nothing happens. You have disappeared from the horison, and nobody tells me what has happened to you. The only thing I can detect, reading through the short lines of the cables is that you are somewhere, and that you are alive. Here, I tried to do my best, and started working with whatever came my way. But if I remember correctly, my mission here was not to act as an agent, but rather to come to an agreement with the EAM to set up intelligence groups in the country and to organize a good system with their help and cooperation. As I have written to you in the past, and cabled a number of times, the people here have accepted us very well, and that because of the careful preparation of the Pericles Mission, and because of our connection with the Greek Maritime Union, and Cardiakis' presence here. However, what happens in the end is that I find myself cooling my feet in a way. I don't mean that I sit lazy here, because you can tell from the amount of material I sent that such a thing is not true. But I feel that I am not doing what I came herefor, which is much more important. The people here have opened many doors to us, and made much material available, but if they realize that this mission is not what we said it is, they will stop showing the interest they have shown until now, and they might stop helping me altogether. They must have expected that after a whole month after our first meeting there would be an answer about the things that I came herefor. Just now, I don't know where I stand, and get very upset about it. Cardiakis will also tell you orrally about my misapprehensions and will give you a picture of what is happening here. If we are still interested in creating a good intelligence system we have our chance and are missing it. With the cooperation of the EAM wecan create such a system that even the British will envy us for. The EAM is the real power in the whole of Greece, and they can do almost anything they want in the way of collecting intelligence. They only lack in fast communications. A system of cooperation by which we shall supply our superior system of communications and also money whenever it is needed, will give us a beautiful information entwork throughout the country.

Cardiakis also feels disappointed about what is happening, because he too would not have risked his life if he thought that this mission would have developed the same as any other agent's mission. He himself was helpful selling the idea to the chiefs of the EAM that it was important for them to cooperate with us, and in the end nothing happens. This is one of the main reasons why he feels he is through with his mission and wants to return to Cairo. However, please keep in mind that he wasvery helpful to me, and that he worked hard to have me accepted well by everybody; so please try to be helpful to him in whatever you can in case he needs you.

As you must have realized from my other communications, I started expanding here. I had asked the EAM to help me create 8 mail routes in order to collect material from different points of the country. However, activities of this type are expensive, and I don't know how to proceed about it not getting much information from Cairo. My Evvia route has already started and it costs me plenty of money. Have in mind, please, that in case you want us to stay

here we shall need money soon, and be ready to send it to us. Also, I informed you already that I set up somebody in Athens for the collection of economic information and have given him fifty gold sovereigns to start with. All these things I did with the idea in mind that we would expand here in accordance with our plans, and that all these would have fallen in our bigger activities. Of course, I also thought that time was important!

The EAM has given me certain authorization to be able to get some material, however, I have stuck my nose dipper, and have been getting perhaps more than I should. That is how I am in position today to send you some information that ordinarily would not fall in the hands of many people. I mean the report on the Gespapo and Intlligence Service agent, and also a detailed report on the military situation of the district, which I expect to arrive any minute

In addition to the envelop George will bring you printed material in the open. I have asked him to get whatever he can on the way to the embarkation point and bring it to you.

Please have a good talk with George, and will tell you a great deal about the situation here and my difficulties as I see them.

So long, and best regards,

Costa

GREECE --- Letter # 6 -- From Pericles

August 22, 1944

Dear Mort:

This time my letter will not be a report on the situation in Greece. Most of my spare time, (I mean when I was not busy gathering information and sending cables), was spent in copying documents placed at my disposal by the EAM. These are documents and reports from the Athens EAM intelligence and the ELAS information bulletins. I spent my time doing so, because I consider these documents very valuable for the OSS and the United States in general. They give an idea of what is happening in Greece from a different point of view than the one that we usually get in Cairo. Also, they picure the fighting Greece, which is the most healthy part of the nation. All ELAS information Bulletins have been copied exactly as they are without ommiting anything. The EAM intelligence bulletins were not copied in toto, but only those parts that were considered of interest to the OSS. My opinion is that these documents must be translated quickly and placed at the disposal of those interested. Also, they should be checked by somebody at the Labor Desk before they are given for translation, because some of them might be done away with by persons who might possibly be interested that cerain parts of the information contained does not fall into American hands. The person that will read all this material will be able to ge a good picture of what is happening in Greece today, or I should say rather, inside dope on the situation. The political intelligence of the EAM is better than its military intlligence. The EAM has its own people in many of the offices of the quisling government, including the Police Security, and the Security Battalions, therefore they can get info. on all subjects, Included you will find certain documents on German and quisling terrorism in Athens and elsewhere, also acts of heroism on the part of patriots. These can be used for publicity purposes. See what you can do with them. The best document of this type paehaps is a report of the prefect of Boecia on the killings and destruction at Distomon. In addition of giving a real picture of the German atrocities there, it is well written, and besides, it is written by an indignat official of the quisling government of Athens. If you remember the Secretary of State, Mr. Hull, spoke about the Distomon affair.

From your cable about Alex wanting to be relieved of his job, I realized that George is there. Perhaps he has asked you not to disclose his presence there yet so that I will not know how Alex's message reached you. In any case you can be sure that it has been since long ago that I am disatisfied with Alex, but because of the difficulties that will be created by a change, which are more important at present than at any other time, I decided to put up with him and forget about it. The boy is not bad, as I told you before, but he is a kid, irresponsible and superficial, and not fit for such a responsible position. Besides, we suffer many hardships over here, and one must be willing to take them. The impression that one gets from Alex is that what he cares for is to eat, sleep and smoke. You can count that he will always look after these three things, but he can forget totally to take care of his radio set, and all other things for which he must be responsible. In any case, it is important that we don't change radio operator at this time, and he will have to stay here, if he likes it or not. We are fighting a war at present at which people get killed, and Alex, should be able to take it, as hard as it may be working with me.

Having in mind that mail # 4 has already reached you, I am not sending copies of documents that were included in that envelope.

Lately I have not been able to do much for you in connection with things you wanted done in Athens, because wireless communication has ceased to ope-

rate for the last two weeks or more. It seems that the EAM woreless there was lost or taken during the last German operations in the region aroung Athens. In particular your querry on Jows U.S. citizens taken to Poland had to be sent late by courier and nothing came out of it yet.

This mail is prepared under very difficult circumstances and will sent to you by a member of the EAM delegation, (or rather representatives), to the Cairo government. I hope it will reach you alright. The difficulties in the preparation of this mail arose from the fact that for the last fifteen days I am staying on the mountains waiting for the plane to arrive. In addition to the difficulties that we have staying on the mountain, I am not in position to follow my work over here, and there are many important happenings these days. Once in a while I come down to the village, and try in a three hour period doing what I can to keep you informed, but that is not easy.

Please try to be as useful as possible to the EAM people there. They have helped me a great deal and I hope that they can get as much help from you. You must keep in mind that these people will meet mostly with enemies in Cairo, but that fact should make liberals doubly willing to try to help them. The EAM is not as bad as it is painted at some quarters. Foreign interests and Greek politics have made a coalition, which fought the EAM inside Greece as well as abroad. However, from what I have seen I came to the conclusion that this side is the only healthy part of the Greek nation and the ohter side is composed of private interests, parasites, and outright traitors. The EAM, however, is strong with the people, and in the end they believe victory will be theris. At present, they received a set-back, and that because of their own inexperience in dealing with the wolfs and the foreign pressure that they met at Lebanon. The EAM representatives went there being conscious of their power in the country, (which power was at its peak at the time they left Greece, which coincided with the time I entered Greece, and felt that power all around), they believed that that power would have been respected by their fellow conferrees at Lebanon. All the EAM representatives there, as well as all EAMites here are novices in politics and diplomacy. In Lebanon they met with most of the old foxes of Greek politics as well as by British pressure, and they agreed for much less than what they should have rightfully received. In addition, they lacked direct communications with their base, (the British undertook to deliver their messages back and forth, but did much to hdnder communications as you must have realized from the fact that some cables were not delivered at all, and others were delivered in part. This was the case with the cable which I sent you for the information of OSS, and which was misunddrstood at the beginning). A basic mistake of the EAM was sending Svolos, suposedly its highest personality, to deal with the rest at Lebanon. All these mistakes, which are realized here, caused the EAM to lose its strength in theory and accept thing that it would not haveaccepted ordinarily. The EAM accused Papandr ou of responsibility for the failure to achieve unity. Although propaganda from abroad puts responsibility on the lap of the EAM, it seems to me that the EAM was righ in accusing Papandreou, and all the other Cairo reactionaries, because these people from the beginning showed a misunderstanding of the situation as it existed in free Greece. If it was not misunderstanding, it can be called malicious intent and that is much worse for them.

Before and after the Lebanon agreement was signed, Papandreou was speaking about EAM terror in Free Greece. This was at a time that I had crossed Greece myself and found there the existance of peace and feedom for the people. Security was at its highest peak, as it was never the case until then in Greece. The main contributions of the EAM to the country has been this peace and security that it brought after the worst period of insecurity that the country